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593 581 [584] marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596 854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous [855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 858 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts. They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

As their six years of schooling advance, children become progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to the standards which are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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593 596 [888] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέσῃ). It is thought that God often punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression in another proverb, 'The sins of parents torment the children' (ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[1] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God. 593 828 858

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its general character from the close physical and psychical dependence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse. 593 828

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love. 593 597

[1] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes increasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent.

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles.

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister.

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the

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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
129 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.
and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]
2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[219] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 581 602 458 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
(593) tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
(861) like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
(596) social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
(494) part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.